[16 cont.]

128 192 177 [198] [186] loanwords are cited, for Tibetan is the official language of Lamaism, which occupies such a large place in the life of the people. Here it should be mentioned that the old man designated the expressions from Tibetan or Mongolic as "higher language" or "literary language," a value that he did not accord Chinese.

Finally a note with regard to the peculiar nature of this 114 [184] work. It presents a popular religion, and that of a certain group. This means in the first place that not everything can be generalized for the Koko Nor region, not even for all the Tujen. [179] Secondly, one will find no accounts about the dogma, the official rites, or the secret practices of monastic Lamaism and the higher Bon religion. The Tibetan and Mongolic writings give this information. Also, it was unnecessary to cite the basic literature on this subject, at least not to any considerable extent. To be sure, this is not infrequently done, but only when it seemed to be required for an understanding of the popular customs. In such cases it was preferable to start from linguistic considerations. On the other hand, a presentation of the popular religion as practiced is a help for knowledge of the [177] official religion. The popular belief, with its various customs, casts new light on the multiformity of monastic Lamaism, which has adopted so many pre-Buddhistic traits from the conceptual realm of Central Asia.

6. The Transcription of the Tujen Language

104

The transcription of the Tujen words and the Tibetan-Mongolic loanwords is based on the orthography of the DMF. For practical reasons, however, the large letters were replaced by small ones and the diacritical marks simplified. The following table presents first the orthography used here (S), under it the one used by P. A. Mostaert in the DMF (M), and under that the phonetic values of the Anthropos alphabet (A).

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," loc. cit., Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, Tibetische Hochzeitslieder [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 With this harmonious conception of the world and its close connection with human beings, one would also expect
779 a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the rnam bču dbaṅ idan; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), Kumbum, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212] 3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits
776 is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[240 cont.]

171 loc. cit., also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols; cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also called "Lajing." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too, differentiate between the bŏ (fashih) and the gurtum (fa-la-tzu or ku-erh-tien).

[779] Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic, as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum," is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic name for the gurtum, and the general term bŏ (böge, bügü) for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of
779 the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
174 The three aspects that are included under the word sku have already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: tabun xaġan) or "the protectors of the [241] doctrine" (Tibetan: c'os skyoń). R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life" (Archiv für Völkerkunde, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the sruń-ba (ma). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the wu-tao-shen cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layicing, however, belongs to no spiritual community,but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

174 Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
756 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
776 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
779 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for the c'os-skyon, for where is the boundary line between the

174 756 776 779

[241 cont.]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner (op. cit., p. 111) writes: "The relationships of Pekar and the five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact, however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings, Pekar and dGra-lha, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name Pekar, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of gNas-c'un, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name dPe-kar from the Sanskrit word viharā (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because Pekar is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word Pekar from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name Pekar, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of Pekar as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician Padmasambhava is supposed to have brought the demon Pehar or Pekar from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards Pekar as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by Padmasambhava." Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 163.

Just as Pekar is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five c'os-skyoṅ, so dGra-lha is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with Srog-bdag also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. dGra-lha, who like Pekar appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]

174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
776 Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 108 and 118 f.;
779 Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (Quellen, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the rGyal-po, to which the c'os-skyoñ also belong. The picture of the mountain-god Kangchendzönga permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
779 the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[243 cont.]
all more or less unimportant elements. The type of the protective warrior, however, goes uniformly through the various representations. Thus the question of the origin of the gurtum becomes the question of the origin of the warrior-shaman.

The Origin of the Warrior-shaman

This question cannot be exhaustively dealt with here within the framework of a presentation of the Tujen religion, since it is closely connected with the origin of shamanism in general. The following points are therefore to be regarded merely as sketchy hints for a later investigation.

Warrior-shamans and Bon religion. H. Hoffmann writes in his book (Quellen, p. 194) of the gNas c'un oracle: "He is, therefore, a living relic of the Bon religion in Lamaism, and to be sure of that side of the Bon religion that is extremely close to the shamanism of the Siberian peoples ..." On page 205 he comes back to the same observation after he has set forth in the same chapter the shamanistic elements in the Bon religion. The type of the Bon shaman pictured there, however, does not correspond to the type of the gurtum or warrior-shaman. The clothing is different, and the Bon shaman works with the hoop drum covered on one side (cf. op. cit., p. 201). A kind of kettledrum is also used. On his drum the Bon-pa rides heavenward in ecstasy. Hoffman quite correctly links this type of shaman with the present-day Siberian form of shamanism (pp. 202 f.). Two important elements, the hoop drum and the flight of the soul, do not appear with the warrior-shaman. To be sure, in the temple, as I was able to observe in Kumbum and Kuomang-szu, large, double-sided drums were likewise beaten as the gurtum was transported into the trance, but only by the assisting lamas, and to be sure they were the drums that are otherwise used at the religious service. The hoop drum, however, of which Hoffman (op. cit., p. 203) gives an illustration, is not used. In the case of the gurtum the necessary connection between the drum and the ascent to

[247 cont.]

174 Indic -- Ancient-Oriental conceptions show the bird (the Indian
752 Garuda) as a symbol of light in contrast to darkness which is popularly conceived as a snake (Garuda -- snake). The winged sun is a well-known phenomenon in Chinese antiquity, in the archaic cultures of the Near East, and in the religion of the Central American high cultures, as is the equating of sun bird and king or hero in Egypt. This motif of light battling against darkness, of the bird of light against the snake of darkness, is also so widespread in America that recently Paul Radin has set it up as a fundamental life-interpretation of the peoples; cf. Radin, "The Basic Myth of the American Indians," Eranos, 1949.

The warrior-shaman in the final analysis is none other than the mythical first bird that stands in a special relationship with the human ancestors and battles the forces of darkness, the evil in the world. He is thus drawn into the very ancient mythology of mankind and the very ancient experience of the battle between light and darkness as it has been formulated, say, by Von Ow for the life-interpretation of the Avesta: "The Eranic religion penetrated deeply into private life. According to the Avesta, the principal task was: to battle against the forces of darkness. This idea is supposedly symbolized by the clothing of the Eranian, which is regarded as armor" (Ow, Hom, pp. 142 f.).

The bird symbolism of shamanism is ambiguous. In Siberian shamanism the characteristic of flight comes more to the fore, in gurtum-shamanism more the characteristic of light. Finally, it is common to both that the shaman is defender of life. Light is life and stands in contrast to darkness and death. Therefore the shaman as representative of light and of life is necessarily also fighter and warrior.

c) Summary

174 Thus the circle closes around the Lamaistic gurtum.
756 The Lamaistic gurtum arose from two components, one pre-Lamais-
779 tic and one Lamaistic. The pre-Lamaistic component is the warrior-shaman. This in turn has two components; a special one, the development of the outward appearance from the fighting light-bird; and a general

[247 cont.]

174 one, the shaman as representative of the god of life (character-
756 ized by the tree of life, etc.).

779 Among the people Buddhism found in the warrior-shaman a type which could be "converted" especially easily. It connected the tutelary figures of its religion with this popular shaman. It had been especially prepared for this type of possession-shamanism through the tantrist-magical realizations so that it could easily absorb it. What then remained of other shaman types was branded and fought as xara nom, black belief, by the new "orthodox" shamanism with the spread of Lamaism. This [248] opposition, dealt with much in the literature, is aptly characterized by Lessing in a conversation with his teacher: "... 'Then is a gurtum not a shaman?' I asked him. 'By no means, something much higher. What he invokes, those are the authentic spirits, not the unclean ones of the Bö (written in Mong. böge, shaman)' ..." (Lessing, Mongolen, p. 143).

d) Idol-shamanism

756 In what follows the justification for speaking of idol-
791 shamanism as a special matter will automatically appear. One
[778] could also call it simply "thing-shamanism," because a thing represents the person as shaman. Among the shamanistic idols the spirit-spear of the Tujen occupies a favored position.

The Spirit-spear

The relationship of soothsayer and spear. -- Here the difference in the shamanizing of a gurtum and that of a spear-soothsayer should be recalled (cf. the appropriate chapters in the first part, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 18-33 [pp. 21-50 above in the HRAF translation]. Whereas the gurtum is completely
[787] possessed and in this state psychically closes himself off from the outside world, the spear-soothsayer remains in control of himself and awake. He does not go into ecstasy; only the spear is possessed by the spirit and affects the soothsayer. The soothsayer,

[252 cont.]
778 however, the lamas in the monastery do this. For soothsaying
791 the litter is taken up on the shoulders of four men, who then
[787] involuntarily follow the movements of the deity.

Summary

756 Both idol-shamanism and gurtum-shamanism form a unity
787 in their appearance. They have in common: the clothing
791 (= beribboning), the metal disks, the little bells or rattles, and possession by a spirit. They both belong in the conceptual realm of the connection [253] between heaven and earth and of the world- or shaman-tree that is hung with bells and mirrors; in this connection cf. the myths of the Golden or the songs of the Tujen, which tell about a tree that bears the sun, moon, and stars in its top. In the case of the human shaman all functions are united in one bearer, whereas in idol-shamanism these functions are divided between man and thing, but this division in turn constitutes a unity in the activities. There arises here the fundamental question: Is not the entire idol cult to be understood ultimately from this shamanistic standpoint? Does it not gain its real significance only through the living person? Certainly a great deal of what has hitherto been designated as "fetishism" or "idol cult" is at bottom merely a variant of shamanism, a static permanent form of that which the shaman represents for only a short period of time with great psychic upheaval: a direct link with the spirit world, culturally regularized, and ritually developed; making present and vivifying deities and demons that the human being wants to have with him.

Here it should be once more emphasized that these ideas are merely a sketch for a theory whose detailed presentation does not belong here.

3. The Bon Religion

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779 Among the Bon there are three groups: the shepherd-Bon, the farmer-Bon, and the monastery-Bon. This division

[253 cont.]

791 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship
779 of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic
[765 534] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female
[174] person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone, the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[989] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these
178 rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between
791 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares
779 with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much
791 more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance.
779 The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

[254 cont.]

4. Lamaism

779 792 The preceding accounts have repeatedly demonstrated how great an influence Lamaism exerts upon the people. As the latest form it has also most strongly penetrated the entire religious life; it offers the people a large number of gods and saints; it gives them the mani-trees, prayer mills, treasure urns, chorten chambers, central forts, and obos; they have it to thank for a considerable part of the world-view. To be sure, one must differentiate the ecclesiastical Lamaism of the monasteries and monks from the popular Lamaism, which in its watered-down customs remains unburdened by complicated doctrines and tantristic rites. This popular Lamaism, however, would be unimaginable without the strong support and the permanent effect of the monasteries, which are already so closely linked with the people because their community is constantly renewed from the families of the people. An important piece of the religi- 792 ous picture would therefore be lacking if one did not at least in hasty strokes characterize the monastery, which for the Tujen of that region is their spiritual center. -- The relationships to Kumbum will be passed over, although they are not to be underestimated. One merely needs to recall that it was a Chi-t'u-szu (prince) who at the beginning of the eighteenth century through his personal pledge preserved Kumbum from Chinese revenge and destruction, so that his clan until the most recent [224] times enjoyed monastic protection and the princes (T'u-szu) themselves on their visits were received by the lamas on their knees; in this connection, cf. Schulemann, p. 179.

The name of the Tujen monastery dGon-luṅ is Tibetan. [103] dgon (pronounced gon) means literally "solitude, hermitage." In the figurative sense it has become the established expression [192] for "monastery" (vihāra), because a monastery must be at least 1,000 steps away from any human habitation; cf. Ch. Das, p. 275; luṅ means "valley, district." Thus, dGon-luṅ is best rendered as "monastery-valley" or "monastery-district" or simply [346] "monastery," for a lama monastery should not be imagined as

[258 cont.]

771 Minchu Hutukhtu wrote a hundred years ago in his "Geography
792 of Tibet" has already become true: "This home of the second
177 Victorious Tsongkhapa was at one time famous in all Tibet ... Now, however, it is not only under the pressure of the deluded Chinese and Mussulmanic doctrine, but there approaches the time when Tibetans and Mongols will believe the Kung-tzu, Lao-tzu, or the teacher Naniku of Ssei"; MS, loc. cit. If one thinks of the most recent events, even in that remote area, then one sees even this melancholy prophecy surpassed, for even the doctrines of a K'ung-tzu and Lao-tzu will no longer draw the Tujen into their jurisdiction. They, too, already belong to the past.

Conclusion

174 In the course of the work it became increasingly clear
771 that the religion of the Tujen no longer represents anything uniform and independent. Rather, it grew from roots of various origins into a colorful composite that is based on the varied past of the Tujen and their present-day homeland which lies in the middle between various peoples. In particular, however, Lamaism
[779] has fostered these international connections, even to Lhasa and Peking, and has contributed decisively to religious assimilation. In this respect, the Tujen share their fate with the neighboring peoples insofar as they are not Chinese. Their belief is linked to a common layer, which, as Lamaistic popular religion, extends over the entire area of influence of the Yellow Church. Thus, the principal questions raised earlier concerning shamanism, the Bon religion, the cult of heaven, etc. are not questions that can be resolved from the point of view of the Tujen alone. Their religion has a much more general significance. To be sure, a number of special characteristics can be established. These do not suffice, however, for drawing definite conclusions concerning the origin and ethnic affiliation of the people. And even less do they permit the delimitation of any individual Tujen groups, which certainly are present. As sources for such cultural-historical and ethnic relationships, almost

shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? Lamaism occupies the privileged position, and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

his father becomes old and retires, he accepts his incumbency. No more formalities are required, for he is not the shaman attached to the village and does not live at its expense. 756 868

INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING OF THE APPRENTICES

The intellectual education of shamans is of a very low standard. Shamans are unable to read Mongol or Tibetan books. Their prayers are said in Chinese, but because the apprentices never attend schools, they are not able to read Chinese books or to write a letter. The elders teach them to write a small number of Chinese characters, used on the few inscriptions pasted on the pole or on the doors and walls of the temples, but most of the time they print the inscriptions by means of engraved wooden blocks. They have, however, a few small prayer books written in Chinese and copied by the most intelligent among them, or by Monguor friends. These prayer books are not printed. Monguors and shamans assured me that they did not possess any books explaining their doctrine. No wonder that the instruction differs, from teacher to teacher. It was always impossible to get a coherent explanation from the shamans about religious subjects. They do not pore over books or rack their brains over theories or philosophical or religious problems. Their science is more one of fantasies, anecdotes, and miraculous tales concerning a number of spirits, told during the performance of the rites. I suppose the instruction of the apprentices would consist of being taught about the same items dealing with the spirits honored by the shamans at the rites of spring and autumn. More will be said about the subject. [212] [212] [779] [796]

The conclusion seems to be that the intellectual and religious training of most of the shamans is neglected and only superficial, and that the physical training ranks first. Many apprentices, in order to perform their physical training and acrobatics, go for months to shamans celebrated in that field. Finally it is said that the education of the apprentices is carried on by accompanying the shamans; their eyes and ears are their real teachers. Some exceptions, however, seem to have existed always, even in these latter times.

Many times I heard the Monguors speaking about a famous old Lu shaman, who died around 1904. The old man went every year to the mountains of Waza with his own apprentice and the apprentices of other shamans. They lived in the caverns, fasting the whole time and sleeping only a few hours during the day. All night they were honoring their spirits, fondling and cajoling them and learning about fighting the evil spirits in the mountains, who every night attacked and combatted them. When they left the mountains, they were exhausted and emaciated from the exertion. The apprentices of the old Lu were said to be the best shamans in the country. Two among them are said to have died by jumping over a precipice in the mountains.

[P.82(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

VIII. PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MONGUORS

Having explained the internal structure and organization of Lamaism and shamanism among the Monguors during the period of 1910–1920, and having characterized the ministers of both religions, Living Buddhas, lamas, shamans, and Kurtains, it remains to study in what ways these religions are practiced, and what is the frame of mind of the Monguors toward these religions. 128

After having explained the world of religion and fear in which the Monguors live, first the public rites performed in their society will be dealt with, and then the private rites enacted by them. A chapter will deal with their death and burial customs. Another chapter will deal with the cult of "Heaven and all the Spirits."

The last chapter will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping to preserve the identity of the Monguors, maintaining their traditions and customs, and strengthening the social structure of the clans in order to prevent their absorption by the Chinese.

It should be borne in mind that among the Monguor clans of Hsining, some are of Turkish and some of Mongol origin, but that from the earliest times in Central Asia tribes mixed with tribes; tribes were torn to pieces and scattered over enormous distances, and absorbed by other tribes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that our Monguors, before they were converted to Lamaism, were religious groups who prayed. Among them sacrifices were offered by the heads of the families and of the tribes, and by the shamans. They had previously met peoples practicing Buddhism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, and also Chinese Taoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists. Even after becoming professing Lamaists, they still remained shamanist, and preserved notions and practices originating from other religious sources. 771

It is a real paradox that Lamaism, contaminated with magic which is diametrically opposed to any religion, denying theoretically the existence of a soul and of God and spirits, has created among its adepts a new enthusiasm of fervor and religiosity. By means of stressing the principle of reversion of merits, it developed the notion of personal responsibility and of duty, by teaching that all good and bad events in this life depend on the performance in the present or former existences of good or bad deeds. Although, according to the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, the bad acts are irreparable, means are provided to extenuate their inevitable consequences, and even to transfer acquired merits to others, and hence arose the doctrine of universal charity, the alluring physiognomy of Buddhism. 779

However, the Monguors and Tibetans of Huangchung, in a way that is even illogical, do not take account of the philosophical aspects of Lamaism. They do not care for the doctrinal discussions concerning the 829

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erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones.

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring. When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings.

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

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swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the confused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own population.[8] A hint has already been given of this philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang; the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers, sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the appointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a shaman is asked at what time and why men started seducing women, and women started eloping? An interesting sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to have men and women. After kneading red earth and water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always preserved their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats.

> In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

In concluding this section it is appropriate to remember that it is a fact that the true concept of a creation *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity.

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC-MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec-

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[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire phase*, 1-3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

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